[72 cont.]

101 and the Reef Islands (2) lying to the northeast, are included un-

2. Here, too, it seemed advantageous to group them together under this name and to drop the designations "Swallow Islands" and "Duff Islands."

der the name Santa Cruz Islands. Utupua, lying between Vanikoro and Ndeni, which belongs to the group geographically, is little known (3). Tikopia, which is not far to the east, is

[113] 3. Cf. Dillon, Voyage aux iles de la Mer du Sud [Voyage to the South Sea Islands], II, p. 286. Markham, The Cruise of the Rosario, pp. 167 f. Moresby, Discoveries and Surveys, p. 89.

• 197 completely Polynesian (4). By contrast the very fragmented lan-

[113] 4. Above all, Dillon, pp. 133 ff. Dumont D'Urville, Voyage de l'Astrolabe, V, pp. 109 ff.

guages of Vanikoro and Ndeni prove to be non-Polynesian, more 144 accurately belonging to the Melanesian group (5), just as physically

5. Codrington, The Melanesian Languages, pp. 486 ff. Gaimard in D'Urville, pp. 338 ff.; also p. 217. Lesson, "Vanikoro et ses Habitants," Revue d'Anthropologie, V, pp. 257 f. (With the exception of the anthropological and linguistic data, he gives, on the whole, little that is not found in D'Urville, and what little there is often is somewhat summarily stated.) Cf. also Dalrymple, An historical collection of the Several Voyages and Discoveries in the South Pacific Ocean, I, p. 153, and Dillon, pp. 270, 292.

[113] [114] [113]

[72 cont.]
144 the population, with its predominantly dark skin and curly hair, [73] contrasts with the Polynesians (1). To be sure, on Ndeni

1. Sainson in D'Urville, p. 355. Lesson in Revue d'Anthropologie, V, pp. 254 ff., compares the Vanikorese particularly with the New Caledonians. For Utupua, cf. Moresby, p. 89.

there is also a light-skinned, straight-haired type (2), which

2. Carteret in Hawkesworth, An account on the voyages undertaken by the order of His present Majesty for making discoveries in the Southern Hemisphere, I, pp. 348, 359. Labillardière, Relation du Voyage à la Recherche de La Pérouse, II, p. 355. Dillon, p. 311. Markham, p. 164. The population of Ndeni, although essentially limited to the coast, nevertheless seems to be denser than that of Vanikoro, whose total number Dillon, p. 276, and Quoy (in D'Urville), p. 361, estimate at 1,000, whereas D'Urville, p. 213, estimates it at 1,200 to 1,500, while according to Dillon, p. 170, the largest tribe did not have more than 46 warriors. Cf. also the numerous individual data in D'Urville, pp. 150 ff., and Lesson, Revue d'Anthropologie, V, p. 254.

•197 seems to predominate on the Reef Islands. On individual islands of this partial group, as on Nukapu, a Polynesian dialect predominates; others, such as Nufiloli, belong to Melanesia lin-
000 guistically (3). [Fig. 2 appears here.] In any case, culturally

3. Burney, A chronological history of the

[73 cont.] 3: Burney, A chronological history of the voyages and discoveries in the South Sea or Pacific Ocean, II, p. 290. (Burney rarely differs from Dalrymple; I therefore cite him only in such cases).

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Fig. 2. Man with ear, chest, and arm ornaments, with bleached or powdered hair. (G. Küppers-Loosen Coll.)

D'Urville, p. 217. Markham, pp. 66, 140 ff. Joest, Tagebuch [Journal], pp. 54, 81.

[113]

In any case, culturally the Reef Islands cannot at present be separated from Ndeni--later a division of the individual islands may have to be made. Nevertheless, by virtue of their not inconsiderable Polynesian ethnographic elements, they naturally play an important role in the

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×171 ×174 that one is derived from the other. Therefore the only cogent connection between the mask-culture and the bow-culture of the New Hebrides and Santa Cruz becomes hypothetical; the assumption that Santa Cruz obtained all the elements of both cultures solely by way of the Solomons gains in probability.

● 197 The languages of the principal island Ndeni and the island Nufiloli certainly belong [170] to the group of so-called Melanesian languages (1), despite their not unimportant peculi-

1. Codrington, The Melanesian Languages, p. 16 and elsewhere.

arities which may one day be significant in revealing the pre-Austronesian linguistic history of the area. The relationship with Polynesian culture which this discloses (2) is, of course,

2. Cf. Graebner, Z.f.E., XXXVII, pp. 44ff. Stephan-Graebner, pp. 190ff.

×171 also revealed elsewhere. Among the objects related to navigation, which are prominent everywhere in the life peculiar to the Polynesian peoples, the first to be named is the outrigger boat and the double boat such as the Spaniards found on the group. There is the triangular sail with all the rigging, the oar shape, and the scoop for bailing water out of the boat. As for fishing gear, the nets are to be mentioned, especially the net-trap (3). Strangely enough, none of the forms of the Polynesian

3. Cf. Graebner, p. 49. Krämer, Die Samoa-Inseln, II, p. 177.

fishhook has become known; nevertheless the Santa Cruz practice of fishing with kites probably also belongs to the Polynesian culture complex. At any rate, the kite, either as a fishing implement or as a toy, is known not only in British New Guinea,

3:Davenport E-5 (1959-1960)1962
CH13 Santa Cruz CH13

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131 are scattered over some 15,000 square miles of the Pacific Ocean just north of the New Hebrides Islands. Santa Cruz, a volcanic island, is the largest in the group as well as its financial center. About 25 miles to the north is a chain of small coral islets called the Reef Islands, and midway between these and Santa Cruz [133] is Tinakula, a volcano too spectacularly [361] active for human settlement. The Duff Islands, 60 miles northeast of the Reefs, are remnant peaks of a narrow volcanic ridge. The only other large islands of the group are Utupua and Vanikoro, respectively some 40 and 60 miles south of Santa Cruz.

177 Partly as the result of a long history of inhospitality to visiting mariners and missionaries, the islands were left pretty much to themselves even through the first two decades of this century, when colonial powers were asserting dominion over other islands in the Pacific. It was not until 1923 that the British assumed [648] direct administration of the islands, which they had claimed since 1899, and only since World War II has the Santa Cruz group actually been drawn into the current of world affairs. Today some 161 7,000 people inhabit the islands, most of them concentrated along the north coast of Santa Cruz and in the eastern Reef Islands. The people of the Duffs 144 and the western Reefs speak a Poly- ● 197 nesian language and are racially similar to the Polynesians of the central Pacific islands. The darker Melanesians of the eastern Reefs and Santa Cruz itself speak four local languages that constitute an independent language family. Melanesians also live on Utupua and Vanikoro, but their three languages be- long to the large Malayo-Polynesian 184 family. The cultures of Santa Cruz and 436 the islands north of it are similar in spite 438 of language and racial differences, and it is through this area that the red-

WHEN A PRIMITIVE AND A CIVILIZED MONEY MEET

William Davenport

IT IS A COMMON story these days to read of a primitive economic system or even large segments of an entire social structure which have become greatly altered by the direct or indirect effects of the society coming into contact and participation with the Western money economy. It is held by many that the universality of our money, a medium by which standardized values can be fixed to almost any good or service, is one of the main factors in this kind of change, for primitive societies are frequently organized around more than one system of valuation. One anthropologist[1] has termed this "multicentric," by which he refers to the fact that one system of valuation is frequently applicable to a limited set of transactions, while a different system is required in another set, and moreover, that these are not in theory convertible.

I shall attempt here to outline the current situation among some islands in the southwest Pacific where this is *not* the case. Here Australian money is competing with an indigenous system of universal currency, which, for all we know, has been in existence for centuries. It is an unusual situation, for owing to their economic behavior which is determined by a strong profit motive, the people want both, yet the native currency is disappearing.

The Santa Cruz Group, lying two hundred miles east of the main British Solomons, are a complex of volcanic islands, true atolls, and raised atolls in which live about six thousand people.[2] They speak eight different languages: one Polynesian, three other Malayo-Polynesian but of a different stock from Polynesian, and four others, related to each other, but as yet unrelated to anything else. The northern part of this group consists of Santa Cruz Island, the largest; the Reef Islands, thirty miles to the north; and the Duff Islands, still fifty miles further out to the northeast. The culture in these is, by Melanesian standards, fairly homogeneous, and from the economic point of view, it is convenient to think of them as participating in a single economic system.

One of the striking things about this island economy is the number of district and island specialties. These embrace a wide range of skills and services, among which are agricultural specialties, animal husbandry, fishing techniques, and many arts and crafts such as canoe making, loom weaving, and clothing and ornament manufacture. Some of these crafts require the bringing of raw materials from one district or island to another before the products are manufactured and the finished goods are redistributed throughout the group. These specialties are largely inherited patrilineally, and many are protected from expropriation by others by magical and supernatural means. Despite this individuality in production, there is a high correlation of certain specialties with the ecological zone within which it is found. For example, specialized fishing techniques are to be found associated with types of reefs, with lagoons, or their absence; pig breeding with abun-

1, 2 [For footnotes, see category 116, page 68.-Analyst]

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